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The bits and pieces of an Atlantic partnership

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

Polls indicate that most of the West German and American public feel that relations between the two countries are good.

This would indicate that mass rallies in West Germany against policies of President Reagan have not caused Americans to lower their opinion of Germans.

It would also seem to show that President Reagan's policies have not upset a lot of Germans.

Yet it would not be much help, and in the long term be harmful, to turn a blind eye to the growing accumulation of Atlantic problems. There might be an unpleasant awakening.

The crucial problem is that Washington is too disposed to pursuing policies independently and without having previously consulted its allies, yet subsequently wanting them to endorse them.

Prior consultations and coordination on each negotiating point worked splendidly throughout the negotiations between Washington and Moscow on medium-range nuclear missiles.

They certainly worked in the West, but the Reagan administration has lamentably failed to follow suit, or inadequately so, to say the least, in other sectors.

That could well prove disastrous. In the long term, people in the Federal Republic could gain and consolidate the impression that Washington pursued its policies regardless *of its allies in Europe.*

This view could be arrived at all the more readily if the United States were to pay less attention to Europe because of a growing preoccupation with the Pacific.

As long as the US administration refuses to confer regularly with its allies it is hard to see how such problems can be solved fast and satisfactorily for both sides.

Talks would need to be held about Mr Reagan's power policy philosophy *of aiming more at superiority and hegemony* than at balance and disarmament.

The detente era may not have done the United States much good, but we Europeans have definitely derived benefits we are bound to be keen to maintain and extend.

A common strategy needs to be drawn up. Where, for instance, do the Europeans stand in the context of America's Star Wars approach? Will they be the fall guys on the field of battle?

Nato's flexible response strategy will need to be modified in the years ahead, yet the US government has nothing to say on the subject. That leaves one wondering whether action, when finally taken, might not be ill-considered and overhasty.

Washington ought also to be prepared to face up to a more serious debate, one with a solution in mind, on its aggressive agricultural and protectionist steel policies.

Germans and Europeans are directly affected, and for the most part the victims, in both cases.

Indirectly we are affected by US policy on Central America, on the Near and Middle East and on North-South affairs too.

There can be no question of Washington being given an invariable go-ahead by its allies in Europe. They would first have to reach agreement and nail their own colours to the mast.

But Washington ought definitely to confer with the Europeans when, after the event (regardless whether it is a success *or a failure*), it *expects unconditional* European support, as on Grenada.

Atlantic position-finding is particularly important at present, with Moscow deliberately according the United States and Europe different treatment with a view to decoupling them.

The Kremlin is currently moderation itself in its dealings with Western European governments, whereas a harsher note is sounded in relations with Washington.

But there is no immediate need for action, since Moscow has budged not an inch in recent months.

That is likely to remain the case until Mr Chernenko has finally consolidated his position in the Kremlin and the US Presidential election campaign is over.

One can but hope that Washington does not ignore all the warning signs from Western Europe in the meantime.

Atlantic partnership is what we want: no more, but no less.

Heinz-Peter Finke
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 4 May 1984)



Chancellor Kohl (left) and Mrs Thatcher at Chequers this month (Photo: dpa)

IN THIS ISSUE

Cash remains the big EEC stumbling block

The latest Anglo-German summit has shown how irksome the EEC finance dispute remains, centring as it does on Britain's net contribution toward the *running costs of the Common Market.*

Mrs Thatcher, Herr Kohl and half a dozen Cabinet Ministers from each country met for talks.

They found that most of their time was devoted to the Brussels dispute that has been simmering for nearly two months.

The DM500m gap between what Britain demands and the other nine EEC countries are prepared to offer relegated *an entire range of major political* issues to a back-seat role.

They include Britain's newly-discovered readiness to take Ostpolitik seriously and the reactivation of the WEU as a means of lending greater weight to Europe's role in Nato.

These and other issues were of course raised, but the tiresome problem of EEC finances wasted an unconscionable amount of time.

The British were somewhat inflexible. "I have very little leeway," Mrs Thatcher said, prompting uneasy suspicions that funding the Common Market will weigh heavily on such gatherings for some time yet.

A serious upset disturbed relations between British and German politicians in any case when, after the Brussels debacle, Whitehall sought to lay the blame on Chancellor Kohl.

This upset has since eased. Helmut Kohl and Margaret Thatcher have effortlessly continued the traditionally cordial course of Anglo-German relations.

Rainer Bonhorst
(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 4 May 1984)

Gensher in America: talks about getting talks going

Three major problem complexes overshadow Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher's visit to the United States.

First, the East-West dialogue might grind to a long-term halt unless life-support systems are used soon.

Second, President Reagan's plans to establish ABM systems in outer space *might make* Europe an area of less security importance.

Third, the transfer of US economic interest from Europe to the Pacific might intensify the growing alienation between Europe and the United States in the Atlantic alliance.



All these worries have nothing to do with bilateral ties, which are currently in better condition than ever.

The fact that Herr Genscher is coordinating policy with the US government shortly before visiting the Soviet Union tends to underscore the existing relationship of confidence between Washington and Bonn.

Atlantic 'shadows' darken relations

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■ WORLD AFFAIRS

A solution in Namibia comes closer

Independence for Namibia has become a real possibility sooner than expected. The change has come since South Africa has suddenly become willing to come to terms with its black African neighbours.

A few weeks ago, Pretoria reached agreement with Mozambique. Relations between the two had been hostile since Maputo became independentwhen the pro-Communist Samora Machel in power in the 1970s.

Talks are also in the offing with Angola, from whose teritory the Swapo terrorists operate.

Many who know the region well suspect that South Africa is merely playing a game of political and diplomatic poker to soften international criticism of its racial policy.

Whenever mention is made of independence for South-West Africa, the reference is to political independence and separate from South Africa.

Seldom does anyone stop to wonder whether, after 25 years as a German colony and 65 years under South African administration, the country would be economically viable on independence.

In European terms South-West Africa extends from London to Rome in a north-south direction and from France and Spain to the GDR in an east-west direction.

Yet it has barely one million inhabitants, including 88 per cent blacks of various nationalities and 12 per cent whites who live together more or less in peace.

What would life be like for an independent Namibia? There can be no gainsaying that the entire administration of the country is run by the white minority.

That is the trouble with many former colonies in Africa where far too little was done to train and educate the native population.

Given the predominance of the Ovambos, who make up just over 50 per cent of the population and from whose ranks Swapo, the communist guerrilla organisation operating from neighbouring Angola, recruits its members, they could be expected to win free elections.

An extremist government would at least to begin with be backed by the black population, united in opposition to the whites.

That would prompt many whites to leave the country. Half the whites work in administration. Any such exodus would result in an administrative breakdown. The Namibian economy is also run by whites.

The Namibian economy is also run by whites. Uranium and diamond mining account for roughly half a gross domestic product of, say, DM3bn. The mines are foreign-owned and mostly pay taxes in South Africa.

Agriculture and fishery, which account for roughly 10 per cent of economic output, are also largely owned by whites, while the few industrial companies are owned entirely by whites.

Not one of the leading international companies has a subsidiary in Namibia. Britain's Rio Tinto Zinc is the exception. It runs the Rössing mine, the largest uranium mine in the world.

But most firms are owned by small-scale and medium-sized industrial companies.

These are but two of the problems an independent Namibia would face. The country's entire infrastructure is geared to South Africa. There are neither railway lines nor roads to other countries.

Its only port, Lüderitz Bay, cannot handle ships larger than 6,000 tons. The telecom network is linked to South Africa's. Namibia has more than one umbilical cord that links it with South Africa.

Its entire financial system is governed by South Africa. There may be Namibian banks in Windhoek, but in view of the country's uncertain political future South African banks are preferred.

It is an open secret that earnings from farm sales, for instance, are invariably remitted to accounts with South African banks. Company profits in Namibia head that way too.

Public sector finances are also governed and controlled by Namibia's all-powerful southern neighbour, with which it officially has a customs union.Two thirds of a Namibian budget totalling well over one billion rand consistsof government grants from Pretoria.

This is where a grey zone begins that makes it hard to assess the viability of an independent Namibia. South Africa may specify the grants that go to Namibia, but the revenue it earns there is a well-kept secret.

Since 1964 only indirect taxes have been increased, while direct taxation has stayed fairly stable. Revenue from indirect taxes is not handled by the South-West's exchequer, so no-one knows how much it is.

Besides, South Africa has already stated that it will no longer be prepared to foot the bill for certain categories of expediture in an independent Namibia.

It would have to pay for its own defence, which is an item on which Pretoria currently spends over DM1.2bn a year. An independent Namibia would

Frankfurter Allgemeine

also have to underwrite the railways, which run at an estimated annual loss of DM180m.

Industry as a result feels unsure of the outlook. Foreign firms invest in South Africa, not in South-Africa.

They are worried the South-West might come under the sway of the left-wing Swapo, especially as the West, including Bonn, has intensive contacts with Swapo.

Western behaviour is particularly paradoxical on this point. While the West is in favour of the UN resolution on indepence for Namibia being implemented, it deters foreign investors by flirting with the Communists.

Even in South-West Africa itself many different answers are put forward to all these questions. In the most favourable circumstances independence would necessitate a trial of strength the country could not hope to survive without foreign help.

Unless an independent Namibia is based on a sound economic footing it could well suffer the same fate as the majority of black African states, where independence was soon followed by economic chaos, political extremism and dictatorship.

Wolfgang Müller-Haeseler

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 27 April 1984)

Riddled Soviet credibility creates policy headaches

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

The Soviet Union has abandoned many fond illusions. It has certainly realised that major assumptions on which its foreign policy are based no longer apply.

Moscow can no longer impress anyone anywhere with the alleged superiority and continued attraction of socialism as practised in the East Bloc countries.

Even in developing countries propaganda along these lines fails to raise more than incredulous eyebrows.

The Kremlin can still argue that the socialist world extends beyond Europe, but this extension has heightened the problems and burdens. All the countries that have thrown in their lot with the Soviet Union and its allies remain problematic, even Vietnam which with its great power behaviour is blocking a Soviet rapprochement with China.

Cuba cannot be called an entirely stable bridgehead or a fully reliable comrade-in-arms. The remaining Marxist regimes in Africa cannot be said to be readily predictable or controllable either.

Angola and Mozambique seem to be vacillating now they have discovered there are advantages to be gained from a rapprochement with the capitalist West.

In spite of economic crises and political differences (in the EEC and between Europe and the United States) capitalism is not on its last legs, much to the surprise of Marxist-Leninists, who have long ceased to think for themselves.

Agitators and propagandists may refuse to acknowlege that this is the case, but people who get things done are well aware of the true situation.

To add insult to injury, it is increasingly apparent that even the poorest Third World countries, in Africa and elsewhere, are not direction of East Bloc-style socialism, a few gestures apart.

The so-called international revolutionary process that has taken the place of the world revolution Lenin hoped for in vain is thus proving an extremely tenacious state of affairs.

It is inevitable, so a Communist has to believe in it, but it has more in common with ideological self-abuse than with reality.

Only when it is made out to be in accordance with theoretical principles can peaceful coexistence with capitalism appear justified.

Coexistence then forms part of the international class struggle and is in keeping with sacrosanct ideological tenets.

In other words, the ideological and social struggle must be continued by all means except military, which is why the somewhat anaemic theory needs a fresh lease of life.

Because so much is not in keeping with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism at home, Moscow is stepping up the class struggle in the foreign policy sector.

That doubtless means there must be no domestic reform that might upset the petrified structure of Soviet thought and society.

Otherwise the Soviet Union might easily slip and come a cropper in the international arena, which Moscow must not let happen.

This, it is reasonable to assume, is how Mr Chernenko, an inflexible and not very creative man, sees the position. He can be sure to hold this view.

The next step is demarcation. The East German leader, Herr Honecker certainly sets great store by demarcation.

He may make intra-German concessions and issue a spate of exit visas to allow GDR dissidents to resettle in the West, but he has also taken care to intensify the domestic ban on ties with the West.

That is to ensure there is not as much as the slightest possiblility of a relaxation of ideological rigour in the domestic security sector, which in the GDR means virtually everywhere.

Mr Chernenko is bound to take the line he does unless, that is, he feels himself to be the executor of Mr Andropov a reformer who was prepared to run a risk or two.

So he is sure to fall back on the only intact force of law and order that allows Moscow to screen off the Soviet Union and the East bloc and draw level with the West when all else fails: on Soviet military power.

Yet that is only an apparent solution as Mr Andropov realised. Will Mr Chernenko appreciate the point too?

This militant strategy spells economic ruin. The Soviet economy cannot stand the strain of an unbounded arms build-up.

So Mr Chernenko as the executor of Mr Brezhnev's legacy is caught in just as much of a cleft stick as his mentor, who felt the only solution to the dilemma was to sue for detente on terms tolerable for the Soviet Union.

The ailing Kremlin leaders, who basically abhor anything even remotely resembling movement (and thus entailing a risk), thus have no option but allow General Jaruzelski to have his say in Poland and Herr Honecker to retain his intra-German leeway.

It creates a good impression. Herr Honecker has grown more relaxed, not to say jovial, in his dealings with West German politicians.

These ties are an important test of how much East-West cooperation is still possible after the breakdown of the Geneva talks and the deployment of new missiles by both sides.

They may show whether there is any point in aiming at anything more far-reaching in the way of East-West dialogue.

The Soviet politbureau still seems petrified and appears to be sulking, but it is not ruling out any option.

There are no prospects of detente in Asia, where both China and Japan feel threatened by Soviet SS-20 missiles, so

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■ THE EEC

Voters square up to some misty Euro-poll truths

An unusual election campaign began in May. The various political parties have to inspire voters to go to the polls to vote for something they are not entirely clear about.

When voting for the Lower House (Bundestag) voters elect a member and at the same time pass an opinion on the government's previous legislative period. They are also casting a vote for the chancellor candidate and having their say about the parties' past performance.

In addition they are expressing a view, to some extent, on the party manifesto in which the party places before the electorate its programme that will be carried through if the party forms a government or if the party is in opposition.

Members are to be elected to the European Parliament in the second direct election on 17 June — the British, Irish, Danes and the Dutch are to go to the polls on 14 June. Apart from that everything else is very different from a Bundestag election. There is no government on which to pass judgment. There is no "person" up for election. There are political parties but they do not form a government or make up an opposition, and their influence on the future course of the Europenn Community will be minimal.

The European Parliament is all about European unity and the state of the European Community.

Candidates for election to the Parliament should be responsible for this unity, but it is in a desolate state at the present and the European Parliament itself is to some extent to blame for this.

But the truth is that the European Parliament cannot be responsible for the state of the Common Market, since it has neither legal nor political clout.

The Parliament is not the legislative body of the European Community. That function, for good or evil, has been taken over by the Council of Ministers and the ten member-countries send their own representatives to that.

The Parliament can comment on Common Market 'laws', they are referred to as regulations, guidelines or decisions, but 'neither the Council nor the Commission in Brussels is obliged to take notice of what the Parliament has to say.

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The gathering in Strasbourg also fails in another aspect of parliament — it has no control over the budget. The Common Market's so-called obligatory spending on the Common Agriculture policy, that takes up almost two-thirds of EEC funds, is controlled in fact by the Council of Ministers.

The Parliament only has influence over what are called nonobligatory funds. As has been proven over the past five years the Parliament can make life difficult for the Council and the Commission but it has no real political power.

The members in Strasbourg can delay affairs but not change them.

They can take up attitudes on issues, pass decisions, but neither the Council nor the Commission need take any notice.

There is an absurdity in this for the Parliament cannot decide when and where it will sit. The member governments decide that.

In May 1983 the Parliament decided to hold plenary sessions in the Palais de l'Europe and committee meetings in Brussels. The secretariat had moved to Luxembourg so staff were transferred to the appropriate location.

Luxembourg complained to the European court about this decision and the Court ruled in Luxembourg's favour on the grounds that the Parliament had exceeded its competence.

This meant that the attempt to reduce the commuter circus to two locations was thwarted.

And there are other odd things about the Parliament. In 1976 the Council of Ministers decided that direct elections should be introduced and the Parliament was asked to draw up standardised voting procedures.

That was done but the Council of Ministers were not in accord with the proposals so that the elections are now held in various ways among various members, following national custom.

Members are also paid according to national usage. A French parliamentarian receives about DM8,300 per month, followed by a Dutch member with about 8,000 marks and a West German European MP with 7,820 deutschmarks. An Irish member draws only 4,100 marks — but all have a tax-free allowance of DM 2,050.

Over the past five years European parliamentarians have made a thorough investigation of Common Market affairs.

Proposals have been made in Strasbourg for new regulations to govern the financial system, for reform of various EEC institutions, transport policy and many other matters which, if the Council of Ministers had followed these proposals up, would have spared the EEC many difficulties.

The Parliament's budgetary committee, through strict financial policies would have saved the EEC DM15 billion. (Recently the Parliament refused to go along with the Commission's budget for 1982.)

The recommendations that the Parliament has made for savings would have more than covered the costs of operating the Parliament itself.

A most important function the Parliament exhibits is its ability to find compromises and a consensus of opinion in difficult matters — in opposition to the Council of Ministers.

The full significance of this can only be realised when it is understood how difficult it is to operate an international organisation made up of differing national interests, divergent parliamentary traditions and various political temperaments. This can be tiresome and tough, particularly trying to create a political stance in a multi-national political party made up of differing ideological attitudes.

This probably is the most important function of the Parliament. The routine work in Strasbourg sets in motion a learning process that has more value than being under the pressure of having to find unanimity, as is the case in the Council of Ministers.

The Parliament contributes considerably to building up inner-European policies, producing a sense of self-confidence that may one day give a new dynamic to the process of unanimity.

The elections for the European Parliament show that for a long time into the future European politics will be dominated by the nation state.

The European elections are being carried out on national terms. In France the bourgeois opposition maintains that the union of the left no longer has a majority: in Britain Labour makes much of Mrs Thatcher's unpoplarity and its own growing popularity: in West Germany the main topic is that the European elections will be a test of Chancellor Kohl's government a year after he assumed office.

These internal factors may give a motive for voting so that there will be a good turn-out on 14 and 17 June.

If there is a poor voter turn-out — in 1979 it was 65.7 percent — it will be a slap in the face for the European Parliament.

Disappointment with the Common Market is bound to have its effect on EEC institutions, but for the moment Strasbourg is the only scapegoat to hand.

Günther Nonnenmacher

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 26 April 1984)

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Mr Chernenko has little choice but to reactivate Mr Brezhnev's Westpolitik.

He will have to start talking with one of his potential adversaries: the United States, Western Europe, China or Japan.

Tentative overtures in Asia have shown not the slightest prospect of headway, leaving only the West, with which Mr Brezhnev fared fairly well.

In President Nixon Mr Brezhnev had an opposite number with whom he could talk. Mr Chernenko would have to try his luck with President Reagan, who doesn't really want to talk with the Kremlin.

Western Europe is not a foreign policy factor with which Moscow might hope to accomplish much.

So in a period of global hibernation it looks as though intra-German soundings are all there will be for the time being.

Helmut Bauer

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 26 April 1984)

Apathy and a low turnout feared

General-Anzeiger

Party battles for the European Parliament elections on 17 June have begun, although the critical phase has yet to come.

The financial crisis and the disputes among the ten member states that have blown up about the Community's future do not provide a favourable background for the election.

It is feared that there will be a poor voter turn-out. That could lead to a misunderstanding about Europe's unity.

The political parties have turned to everything to overcome voter apathy.The CDU has used the slogan about Europe's "ship" on land and sea and the SPD has made much of "Katharina's Circus", referring to the SPD's top candidate Katharina Focke.

The FDP talk about the "European train with twelve wagons", one for each European company and the remaining two for Spain and Portugal, negotiating for access.

It would be a pity if in this election it were forgotten what the issues were.

The Parliament elected in 1979, the first via direct voting, has not done too badly, but too many of its proposals and suggestions have not been taken up by the European Community.

Voters could do well to ask at the hustings why the European Parliament does not have more authority.

All three main parties in this country have over the past five years held responsibility in government and could have done much more in Brussels.

This is true of the thorny question of open frontiers as well as the Common Agriculture Policy and the development of worker rights in multi-nationals.

Most electors will not be swayed by catchy phrases and just lip-service to Europe.

We have got to come to grips with constructive arguments the parties must produce for Europe.

(General-Anzeiger, 28 April 1984)

Genscher in America

Continued from page 1

between Europe and America as a whole. Neither side is entirely blameless for the alienation between the United States and Western Europe that has set in since the Vietnam war.

As Europe is just as important for Bonn as a functioning transatlantic relationship, the German government cannot afford to take it lightly.

Herr Genscher's aim in visiting America is to persuade US leaders to signalise readiness to talk with the Soviet Union in spite of a US Presidential election campaign in full swing.

This is unlikely to accomplish more than signalising to Mr Gromyko that at least the Europeans are prepared to proceed with detente.

The German Foreign Minister is realistic enough to realise that the new Soviet leadership cannot afford to abandon a policy governed by mistrust and obduracy for the time being.

Even if the Reagan administration were now to raise the colours of detente, the Soviet leaders could not afford to follow suit until they knew for sure who was to call the political shots in America for the next four years.

As for new defensive weapons of the future in outer space that might arguably prevent nuclear warfare on earth, the Europeans have made a mistake where the Americans are concerned.

They have voiced doubts about feasibility, strategic intentions and security policy repercussions at a time when research has not even really begun.

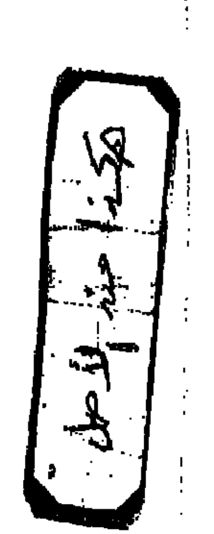
Europe might well have done Atlantic relations a better service by keeping to the principle of cordial, confidential consultation and exchange of interest.

As for the growing predominance of America and Asia in world trade, calls for a magic triangle consisting of America, Asia and Europe are of little use.

Europe would do better to appreciate its own problems, to do something about them and to make sure it doesn't miss the boat.

Rudi Kilgus

(Mannheimer Morgen, 4 May 1984)



■ THE ARMED FORCES

Long-term manpower shortages still dog the military planners

DIE ZEIT

One of the facts of life the Bundeswehr has had to live with since it was set up in 1956 is that there are limits to what the armed forces can hope to achieve.

It was clear from the outset that the initial target of setting up a standing army of a million men in three years was hopelessly unrealistic.

In each successive decade it has been equally clear that financial requirements couldn't be met, with the resulting cuts in organisation and planned level of equipment.

The latest problem is the impending manpower shortage, which will soon deteriorate dramatically. In three years' time the low birth-rate years will reach conscription age.

By the mid-1990s there will be 104,000 conscripts too few every year and West Germany's defence capability will decline alarmingly unless the Bonn government makes up its mind to take unpopular decisions.

In mid-February Chancellor Kohl told Bundeswehr commanding officers at their annual gathering in Travemünde on the Baltic that he wanted to enforce a domestic debate on the issues involved.

He no longer needs to do so. The debate is in full swing due to the slipshod and self-important behaviour of Peter-Kurt Würzbach, parliamentary state secretary at the Bonn Defence Ministry, who has made headline news by airing views of his own on the subject.

Speculation has since been rife about conscription being extended from 15 to 18 months and, more particularly, about the half-baked and provocative idea of allowing women to serve in the Bundeswehr (but not to handle weapons.)

This arbitrary restriction to only two possible solution inevitably leads to a simplified and distorted version of a catalogue of proposals on long-term Bundeswehr planning by an expert commission in the days when Social Democrat Hans Apel was Defence Minister.

There is no lack of ideas on how the problem might be dealt with. Where doubts arise is on which combination of measures political agreement might be reached.

Defence Minister Manfred Wörner has yet to frame his proposals, but Bonn cannot spring any great surprises because too many parameters are known factors.

The Bundeswehr's peacetime strength of 495,000 men is not a figure taken out of thin air. It is primarily an agreed part of Nato's response to the military threat.

It is both part of the West's deterrent strategy and an aspect of defence doctrine.

A major debate has lately arisen in Nato as a whole and Germany in particular on what must be considered the "right" defence strategy. It too must be accommodated in armed forces planning.

Both government and opposition in Bonn advocate a strategy that no longer relies to the extent Nato strategy used to on the early use of tactical nuclear weapons.

Both call for a strengthening of conventional defence capacity, and that is hard to reconcile with ideas of reducing Bundeswehr strength in view of manpower shortages.

Hopes of course remain of the Vienna troop cut talks finally reaching agreement on mutual balanced force reductions in Central Europe.

If conventional strength on both sides of the intra-German border were to be stabilised at a lower level the result would not only be greater stability in Europe but also a major easement of our demographic problem.

This being so, Bonn should always have been particularly keen on achieving results at the MBFR talks in Vienna, although precautions must also be taken to provide for the possibility of failure.

Helmut Kohl referred in his speech to Bundeswehr commanding officers to an unrestricted deployment capacity of the armed forces.

He also said extra expenditure would prove inevitable. That left him closely committed, with very little leeway. Compared with the Chancellor, leading military men tend to be sceptical.

They are certainly considering what might be the minimum conceivable manpower level for the Bundeswehr if it is to fulfill its peacetime role.

They say the German armed forces could at a pinch meet its alliance and defence commitments with 460,000 men. But if the debate is to delve any deeper it must go into the following four problems:

First, defence capability can to some extent be maintained by using labour-saving but doubtless extremely expensive weapon systems.

Second, there must be no cutback in the Bundeswehr's ability to mobilise reservists and have 1.2 million men under arms within a few days.

Third, some units could be reduced to skeleton proportions in peacetime and raised to full strength in an emergency as a means of bridging the manpower gap.

Fourth, the shortage of over 100,000 conscripts a year can only be offset by a combination of measures. Only a third could be offset by making conscription three months longer.

Better pay could persuade more people to sign on in the regular army. Exemptions from military service could be thinned out.

Reservists could be called on to plug gaps. Police and border patrol officers and men ought no longer to be exempted from military service.

A number of other proposals deserve to be set aside immediately. They include accepting foreign nationals as recruits and signing on 15,000 women in the Bundeswehr.

Luckily the constitution bans women as fighting members of the armed forces. It would be fiddling with figures to use them to plug gaps by serving as makeweights in auxiliary roles such as uniformed aides in signals units.

Women in the Bundeswehr is unsuitable as an issue for a trial of strength over emancipation. There are many much more promising sectors in which sex discrimination could be made good.

As long as reserves of men who might serve in the armed forces are still available, and as long as cash can still solve many problems, the government would do well not to unnecessarily make a marginal issue out to be of prime importance in the impending debate.

The debate will be stormy enough as it is, and at present the Bonn Government looks fairly helpless in the discussion on the future of the armed forces.

Debate within the coalition seems to be no more than a tactical dispute between Christian Democrat Manfred Wörner, the Defence Minister, and Free Democrat Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the Foreign Minister.

The government must draw up and present a concept without delay. It will need to state political reasons why the Bundeswehr's peacetime manpower should be whatever strength it advocates.

It must also state what peacetime manpower the armed forces will, as it sees it, need in the long term.

There must be no cuts in conventional defence capacity, but there is nothing magic or particularly convincing about the present posted level of 495,000 men.

Kurt Becker

(Die Zeit, 4 May 1984)

Emphases to be changed at the soldiers' universities

Officer training in the Bundeswehr is back in the news now the two Bundeswehr universities, one in Hamburg, the other in Munich, have been in existence for 10 years.

The jubilee at the end of last year was an occasion for the authorities in Bonn to review progress.

The review really began well before the celebrations were held. Hans Apel, Manfred Wörner's predecessor as Defence Minister, was well aware of the need to take a long, hard look at courses.

Herr Wörner has been Defence Minister since October 1982.

The Bundestag has lately paid greater attention to events at the two universities. Its defence committee paid the Munich university a fact-finding visit in mid-April.

The review has already prompted initial public reactions. There has been polemical talk of an impending militarisation of courses planned since the Christian Democrats returned to power in Bonn.

This line of argument came little short of snide references to people who will never learn.

Changes so far envisaged are much less dramatic than such charges might lead one to think. They have little if anything to do with ideology.

They are the result of two trends to which the Bundeswehr had no choice but to respond to if it was to uphold the concept of university training for officers in the German armed forces drawn up over 12 years ago when Helmut Schmidt was Defence Minister in Bonn.

First, the Bundeswehr, like civilian universities, trains academics in disciplines for which it has no real need or in numbers surplus to demand.

Second, practical experience with officer graduates has shown them to be intellectually adaptable and quick to react to new situations but unexperienced in practical leadership qualities.

So the emphasis is to be changed in Bundeswehr university courses that are



still to last five years. The first change will be that men are not to be seconded to university after only 15 months in the armed forces.

This is the period in which officer cadets undergo basic training and officer training up to exam level.

Only the Air Force and the Navy are to retain this 15-month routine. The Army plans to wait longer before sending young officers to university.

Some are to go after 27 months in the Bundeswehr, others after 39 months. It will depend on whether the university course is to have direct relevance to their Army careers.

A technology degree course is likely to be of immediate use to an officer serving in a technical corps, and the same may be true of an informatics graduate whose service work is with computers.

In such cases they will be sent to university after 27 months in the Bundeswehr. In other cases they would have to wait longer.

Both groups would go to university with at least one year's experience as platoon commanders. They would be stabler in personality and be better able to concentrate on demanding study courses.

The other shortcoming was that Bundeswehr universities train too many graduates in, say, education. The Defence Ministry has decided the number of students to be accepted will be limited.

New courses are also to be offered and amendments to be made to existing ones. A new degree course in "statecraft" is planned.

Another will be in economic engineering, a third in engineering planning as a branch of aerospace technology. All these ideas date back to Hans Apel's days as Defence Minister.

So it is clear there can be no question of a "conservative ideologisation" of officer training.

This criticism is wide of the mark because education and social science sections of officer training courses are largely to be retained as first envisaged by the Social Democrats.

They are to continue to enable officers to view their future careers in overriding categories and act accordingly, to quote a letter from the Ministry to the heads of both universities.

Rüdiger Moniac

(Die Welt, 17 April 1984)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Strategy to stop small wars because they can have big results

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Horrific visions of a nuclear holocaust disregard the fact that an intelligent aggressor will make a point of avoiding the lunacy of full-scale war and aim at war on a more manageable scale.

The strategy of graduated deterrence, Nato's flexible response, regrettably has the undesirable side-effect of seemingly confirming a particularly misleading argument put forward by the peace movement.

It is that any kind of defence preparedness will lead to nuclear war. In reality the Nato strategy is intended to dissuade opponents from even considering being the first to wage war.

The peace movement's pessimism blinds it to the fact that this strategy has so far proved right.

As a result of this failure to appreciate the point left-wing critics are given to checking evey arrangement to defend the West by conventional means from a conventional attack.

They check it to see whether a potential opponent might not feel such precautions to be too "aggressive" in peacetime.

Discussion in Germany is too exclusively geared to the risk of nuclear war. Little or no attention is paid to the possibility of convention hostilities on land and at sea.

In connection with naval warfare it is worth mentioning that Germans as landlubbers barely realise that the groundwork for their defeat in two world wars was laid at sea.

A British admiral has just been reported as saying the Russians would sooner see Britain's 50 frigates scrapped than its independent nuclear deterrent.

These are ideas far removed from the German mind yet more realistic than apocalyptic fantasies.

More attention is paid to conventional land defence, although arguments are often based on the mistaken assumption that conventional arms are less expensive than nuclear weapons.

There is also a line of thought that favours the idea of unilateral disarmament up to the point of sending latterday snipers to take on entire tank divisions.

Anyone who has ever lain in cover at the edge of a wood watching a tank division drive past might find this idea amusing even, but black humour of course.

Yet no-one devotes thought to the risk of a low-key war that might happen if the respective defenders were to be spellbound by the risk of a full-scale conflagration.

Scant attention seems to have been paid to the lesson taught by the fighting in Cyprus in 1974.

It was that the Turks in two military operations lasting a few days each succeeded in greatly extending Turkish-held territory on the island without any power whatever, such as the United Nations, intervening.

In this handful of days the Turks hit the Greek Cypriots hard with tank columns and napalm shells and 1,000kg bombs, killing one per cent of the Greek Cypriot population.

That would correspond to 600,000 fatalities in the Federal Republic of Germany!

In three days a territorial fait accompli was established that none can now remedy, and Nato's south-eastern flank has been seriously weakened ever since.

Analysis of the Cyprus campaign indicates that a limited war could well make sense in Central Europe. The limitation in time and space would make up the integrated total of a manageable, politically calculated war.

The aggressor would restrict himself to a gain of a few dozen miles and stay put after a few days but some way away from the point at which the West might decide in favour of escalation.

Given the probable state of the West's decision-making machinery at present, especially in respect of the US leadership, the inertia factor is so great that an early unilateral cease-fire by the aggressor could hardly fail to have the intended misleading effect.

It would be misleading inasmuch as from a distance the territory forfeited would appear to be not much more than an area corresponding in size to a Texas ranch.

In reality the Federal Republic would have its back broken politically and morally by the loss of a strip of land this size.

Given the way the world is, no-one would wage a full-scale war merely for the sake of a few miles.

Yet after the initial sigh of relief Western Europe would come to realise that its freedom had somehow increasingly come to resemble Finland's.

Any such move is only conceivable under new leadership in the Kremlin, but who would have anticipated the rise of Ayatollah Khomeini?

Who would have thought that one man at the wheel of a truck packed with explosives could force the United States, a world power, to withdraw from Lebanon?

This effect was achieved because the political repercussions and the effect in America and in the US Congress was accurately anticipated.

The Beirut bomb raid was a form of minimal war with forethought that was reduced to the bare bones and may well have made history.

Our strategy must be aimed at taking into acount the fact that someone is keen on making history at the expense of our freedom and not at being fixated by the imminent threat of an apocalypse.

Martin Held

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 24 April 1984)

Modern conflict: now the high-tech factor in space must be considered

A year elapsed between President Reagan's Star Wars declaration in March 1983 which was initially derided as being partly utopian, and the details outlined by US Defence Secretary Weinberger early this April.

Mr Weinberger reportedly took his Nato opposite numbers by surprise at the spring meeting of Nato's nuclear planning group.

European Defence Ministers, notably Bonn's Manfred Wörner, made a point of voicing amazement and misgivings.

Subjective annoyment at the way the Pentagon had so far informed and conferred with its allies seems to have clouded objective judgement.

The macabre logic of the arms race seems to have come into its own in outer space now technology has begun to master the art of handling spacecraft.

Security and military planning are growing steadily more dependent on satellites and spacecraft usable for military purposes.

The development of electronics that had made this possible is increasingly emerging as an aspect of security and military planning in terms of electronic warfare.

This is all nothing new. It has its lighter and darker moments. Fighting in the Middle East and the Falklands has shown that the outcome of modern wars is partly dependent on high tech in outer space.

Handelsblatt
WIRTSCHAFTS- UND FINANZZEITUNG

Crisis management and conflict prevention have in contrast worked for the superpowers where intensive spy satellite reconnaissance has given them access to information neutralising attempts to become involved in regional tension.

This can all be read up in the increasingly wide range of specialist literature. A trio of highly qualified authors has outlined the basic facts in a book written for politically interested readers.

It is entitled *Die Militarisierung des Weltraums — Rüstungswettlauf in der vierten Dimension* (The Militarisation of Outer Space — Arms Race in the Fourth Dimension).

The authors are political scientist Professor Dieter Wolf, ABM specialist Lt-Col. Hubertus Hoose of the Bonn Defence Ministry and lawyer Dr Manfred Dauses of the European Court of Justice.

They co-authored a comprehensive book entitled *Gefahr aus dem Weltraum* (Danger from Outer Space) in 1979. Their new book is an updated version of the first.

They have again succeeded in providing a comprehensive outline of the political, technological, military and legal aspects.

They even deal with existing international agrreements and trends in space legislation.

The pace of technological development cannot be slowed down. It could and ought to result in arms, especially nuclear weapons, being made ineffective by technological progress and the threat they pose being eliminated.

Arms control can be achieved along these lines, for instance. The dilemma of military uses of space research is, the three men write, that it can both intensify and neutralise the risk of international conflict.

Common sense

The new strategic defensive initiative of the United States, combining ABMs and laser weapons, seems to be a mirror image of what Moscow has in mind.

Technically, they note, there is nothing new and nothing impossible. So it is increasingly important to arrive at political overall control guided by common sense.

It must be based on a politico-military balance of power between the blocs and aimed at defusing budding hotspots.

Now outer space has emerged as what may well be the crucial theatre of international political disputes it is indispensable for the sake of world peace to fully include it in bids to limit arms potentials and arrive at disarmament and detente.

Carl A. Ehrhardt

(Handelsblatt, 24 April 1984)

■ THE ECONOMY

Deregulation and 35-hour week become major issues

Christ und Welt
Rheinischer Merkur

Two topics are dominating economic policy discussion. In Bonn political circles it is deregulation of individual markets. Among trade unionists it is beating unemployment by bringing the working week down from 40 hours to 35.

The government is also planning to bring retirement down from 65 years to 59 in certain cases. But this is a diversionary measure would be just as much a problem for the economy as a whole as the 35-hour week.

It is impossible to guess when these two conflicting courses of action will collide. As before, economic upswing and stubborn unemployment are both in the balance.

In this turbulent situation, Professor Herbert Giersch, director of the Institute for International Economics in Kiel has edited a book, *Wie es zu schaffen ist. Agenda für die deutsche Wirtschaftspolitik*, which takes up the questions of responsibility for employment stability and economic growth and indicates a few directions that could be taken.

In this handy book, Professor Giersch and fifteen other top economists put forward their views on the national economy.

Topics include the West German economy as a whole, economic growth, state expenditure and wealth policies.

All the contributions are written from the free enterprise system of view and the authors present without any nonsense their views on what must be done to bring the employment again under control.

Joint declarations of how this difficult situation arose are not included. Each author expresses his own views. But the fundamental conviction seems to be that politics and intervention policies have upset markets and brought about unemployment.

Reviving the economy cannot be brought about by going along the old tracks or through shortening the working week, but through a long-term, constant policy, that stimulates economic production (and not by subsidies) so as to avoid long-term stagflation.

Unlike the period after currency reform economic policy involves social order and cannot be manipulated to meet just any demand.

At this point the contributions made by Herbert Giersch and Gerhard Fels dealing with wage-oriented unemployment come into their own.

A policy that sets out to help wealth-promoting forces make a breakthrough, must take into consideration the impeding effects tax and social benefits systems have as well as capital accumulation and the role the creators of wealth have to play to society. Simply said: What's in it for me!

The search for a pension (in an economic sense), putting your fingers in your neighbours pocket? Or the economic factor, the creation of goods that bring sensible ideas into being? These considerations must be placed against financial polity (Klaus-Dirk Henke) and the taxation system.

From an economic point of view this means burdening consumers with tax and releasing capital accumulation from many forms of financial control (Wolfram Engels).

Roland Vaubel has drawn up a programme for reducing government spending that does not involve dampening down demand but switching demand from the public to the private sector – an association of actions that has not been given enough attention in the public debate.

A more and more noticeable threat to the economy is protectionism that has its sources in cost-oriented agricultural policies (Ulrich Koester), but also through a fundamental misunderstanding of the international division of labour (Juergen B. Donges).

Far better than well-intentioned aid to developing countries, that in practice often turns out to be niggardly, is the opening up of trade frontiers with these countries. This helps promote national wealth.

Finally various contributions in the volume deal with the mistaken use of scarce resources. Some pointed suggestions are made about nationalised industries that produce goods that no one is prepared to pay for and that could be replaced by sensible production.

Here can be mentioned the public services (Walter Hamm), the state-organised "education industry" (Carl-Christian von Weizsäcker), public transport (Holger Bonus), "low-income public housing" (Johann Eckhoff) and environmental protection (Klaus-Werner Schatz).

Finally the essays discuss the social security system, always short of resources (Alfred Boss, Eckhard Knappe and Rüdiger Soltwedel) and take up the social-political problem of working people within a risk economy.

In recent years economic affairs policies have been scrutinised more closely to see if the possibilities suggested are realistic. The question is asked if alternatives are not just vague ideas from an economic affairs institution full of utopian notions, or sound proposals that stand some chance of succeeding.

Not too much weight should be given to the often-heard objection that this or that is "not politically possible".

Behind discussions in the 1970s was the belief that world-wide economic structure and direction along with investment policies had almost reached perfection for the control of the economy.

But since then not only has the intellectual climate changed but in several cases practical policies have altered direction because of a better understanding of problems of what the economy can deliver and how the wellbeing of all sectors of the economy can be better promoted.

Christian Watrin
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 6 April 1984)

Wie es zu schaffen ist. Agenda für die deutsche Wirtschaftspolitik, edited by Herbert Giersch, Deutsche-Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart, 1983, 368 pp, DM 19.80.

Economic outlook: spring 1984 (Based on economic research institute; estimates for 1984)	1983	1984
Growth %	+1.3	+3
Unemployment (mil)	2.26	2.15
Price rises %	+3	+3
Investment (real) in %	+2.9	+5
Exports (real) in %	-0.9	+8.5
Gross earnings per head %	+3.4	+4
Gross profits % (incl returns on assets)	+11.2	+9.5

5092 © Globus

A left-wing panacea for the nation

A crash programme of home building, promotion of energy and raw materials technology and city rebuilding should be introduced this year, says a group of left-wing professors.

They say in a statement that DM30 billion should be spent this year as part of a 10-year DM200 billion programme.

The programme, intended to gear the economy towards demand and full employment, has been suggested by a working group comprising Professors Rudolf Hickel and Jörg Huffschmid, both of Bremen, and Klaus Hofemann, of Hagen.

They regard present economic, social and ecological policies, whose strategies involved gains at the expense of the individual and the shackling of private investment, as catastrophic.

The three economists, who have close links with the trade unions, reject an economic upswing based on increased productivity because it would:

- create over-capacities that in turn would lead to another recession at a lower economic growth level,
- contribute to increased unemployment since rationalisation investment would have priority,
- worsen working conditions and block efforts to make working life more congenial,
- harden controls and independence and the various privileges that have gone with it,
- harm the environment and worsen raw materials problems, and
- increase the danger of international protectionism and tension by unilateral, international expansion.

In their Memorandum '84 the four professors said that it was macabre when government and research institutes expressed satisfaction with their policies that had brought about a slight decline in the number unemployed, while for 90 per cent of the population living standards had dropped and another recession in 1986 was already in the offing.

The government's economy measures mean that those receiving social security benefits are hit to the tune of DM75 billion, the self-employed by DM65 billion and consumers such as tenants to the extent of DM42 billion, while businessmen get three billion deutschmarks in benefits and landlords are DM2.2 billion better off.

The Bonn government, the group says, has used the pressure created by the recession to promote a re-distribution of wealth and power and to reduce the legal protection given to women, children and invalids.

The left-wing professors suggest alternative economic policies that:

- increase total wages income,
- create jobs by qualitative economic growth,
- create even more jobs and make working life more congenial through the 35-hour working week
- and provide alternative production as a contribution towards nationalisation.

The professors insist that the whole economy should be geared towards demand and full employment and at the same time offer greater protection to the ecological basics of our lives.

Mass sackings should be prohibited and decisions involving short-time working and job-sharing should be withdrawn.

A crash programme of DM30 billion should be introduced for 1984, part of a ten year programme involving DM200 billion to promote home building, energy and raw materials technology, city re-building and a re-organisation of traffic networks.

Frankfurter Rundschau

This programme would be financed by increased taxes on high incomes, interest free central bank credits and increased public indebtedness.

Defence spending must be cut and the funds re-allocated to civil production.

There has been considerable discussion in the defence manufacturing industries and operations that are likely to be shut down as to what products could be usefully manufactured as alternatives to present production programmes.

Success has been limited because of financial difficulties and the lack of political support from state organisations.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 27 April 1984)

■ TRADE

Germany mounts a huge exhibition in Tokyo

DIE WELT

The West German industrial exhibition in Tokyo is the largest that has ever been presented in an industrialised country abroad. More than 120,000 officials and business people have taken part.

The organisers hope to attract more than half a million to the two-week event.

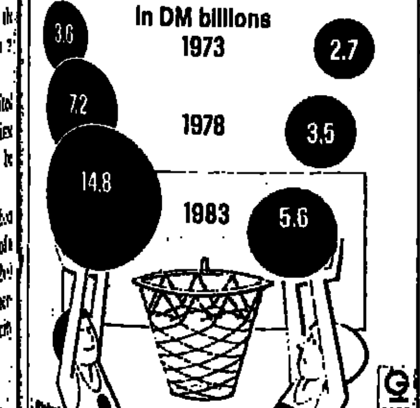
This estimate is based on the fact that during "Golden Week" the Japanese have a series of public holidays, one after the other.

The West German industrial exhibition is in a 25,000 square metre area in the conventional, but rather gloomy exhibition halls in Tokyo.

The main exhibition feature is in a 10,000 square metre large tent that takes the form of a prism. Inside information stands are crammed full with brochures and literature on life in West Germany, industry, art and culture.

Anton Killer, a wood sculpture from Oberammergau, is seated at the entrance and he attracts considerable attention from visitors.

He regards the Japanese with an equal interest as he chips away at a Madonna and Child. In contrast to his far from peaceful work studio in Oberammergau the artist is at home at the exhibition and is grateful to the Japanese public that is "so disciplined and does not trouble me with endless questions.



They seem to me to be far more interested and do not disturb me."

Pretty girls, some dressed in the fashions of the first years of this century and others in the very latest vogue, stroll laughing through the exhibition halls waiting to be called for the next mannequin parade of West German haute ton.

The stage on which the girls show off the latest fashions has a backdrop of a typical German village including half-timbered houses.

The main attraction, however, is a functional replica of the spacelab on which the first West German astronaut, Ulf Merbold, went into space in November 1983. It is, in fact, more than a replica: it was built as a reserve should anything have happened to the original.

In one corner of the exhibition a robot, playing the part of Beethoven, that explained in a heavy German accent to the Japanese public what he could do, while Beethoven's Ninth Symphony was played in the background. A German actor was engaged to speak the Beethoven part, but the DM50,000 robot was Made in Japan.

At the end of the exhibition hall a printer has a Gutenberg press, printing on paper of the same quality as that originally used by Johann Gutenberg (1397-1468).

In a neighbouring hall there there is a Heidelberg press, costing DM1.2 million, turning out 10,000 colour posters an hour of Heidelberg. This stand is probably the only one in the entire exhibition that does not run out of prospectuses.

Many firms at the Tokyo event have already reported that they do not have enough information material with them and are having to deal out what they have sparingly. This is particularly true of the brochures and prospectuses that were aimed at interesting Japan in West German products and technology, the whole point of the show.

Five hundred firms and companies have paid out DM150 million in total to mount the exhibition to introduce the latest technology – in engineering, telecommunications, in precision and optical instruments, aviation and space travel and many other sectors.

The two exhibition halls are carpeted, a luxury that even causes comment among the Japanese.

Response to the exhibition varies. Although most Japanese visitors are enthusiastic and full of praise, some complain that there is nothing new in the way of technology, at least for the Japanese.

A representative of the computer organisation Nixdorf said that although he personally was against the idea of participating he was now quite pleased with the positive response that the Nixdorf stand had received.

He confirmed that during the two-week event in Tokyo Nixdorf had picked up orders for one million deutschmarks.

For exhibitors the exhibition was an image-promoting exercise and an opportunity to show off the quality of West German products and technology.

The newspaper *Sankei* said that the Germans were to be complimented on having made the effort to come to Japan rather than expecting the Japanese to come to them, although there was not much that the Japanese could learn from the exhibition. But the initiative would pay off in the course of time.

A journalist from the daily *Yomiuri Shimbun*, who had lived for five years in West Germany, also wrote that there was little to be learned in Japan from this exhibition.

West Germany limps a long way behind Japan in micro-technology, he commented, "but we should respect West Germany's enthusiasm in mounting the exhibition in Tokyo."

Nevertheless Japan could learn something from West Germany in homes and welfare, for examble. *Edwin Karmiol*

(Die Welt, 27 April 1984)

A kind cut: Japan's Prince Hitachi (left) and Princess Hanako cut the tape to open the German exhibition in Tokyo. Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Count Otto Lambsdorff (right) looks on. (Photo: AP)

Fair shows how much things have changed

The largest exhibition ever staged by West Germany abroad has opened in Tokyo.

The exhibition is costing DM150 million and shows how things have changed in the past twenty years.

West Germany, once Japan's teacher, must now accept this Far Eastern country as an industrial equal.

The reason for this is not so much Japan's trading practices, so frequently referred to by the Common Market Commission.

Rather it is due to a tendency in Western Europe to disregard world markets and pay more attention to safeguarding uneconomic jobs, instead of boldly stepping out and going forward. This has led to decline in many sectors of industry.

On the other hand it is a mistake to talk of West Germany as a second-class industrial nation, for at the Tokyo show it was clear to see where West German industry was among the leaders.

More and more must attention be paid to market shares. West German exports are considerable but taking the South-East Asian market as a whole the West German market share is below average.

West German exporters' position in the world's number two trading nation, Japan, is disgraceful.

After the exhibition the weak spots can be improved for a better future. The participation of industry and politicians from the states and at a national level indicate that Japanese trade is being taken seriously.

The VIPs who took part in the opening ceremony included the Crown Prince and Princess of Japan and the West German Head of State, Karl Carstens.

Such political courtesy pays off in the Far East. But in the future the question will not be who has made the best compliments but who has the best goods and services.

The exhibition was just a beginning. The future will show if the revival of interest in West German industry was just a short-lived enthusiasm.

The pressure is to go forward, showing strengths and weaknesses. Only in this way can be a position in international markets be maintained, rebuilt and again made secure.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 25 April 1984)

Engineering firms get helping hand to sell in Japan

Handelsblatt
WIRTSCHAFTS- UND FINANZZEITUNG

Japan's position in the export strategy drawn up by West German firms is, with few exceptions, fairly low.

This is particularly true in the capital goods sector and there was a lot of nostalgia expressed for the good times in the past at the press conference held before the Tokyo exhibition opened.

There was a time not so long ago when Japan limped a long way behind West Germany industrially and firms such as Krupp or Mannesmann could do good business in the country.

These firms do not have much of the Japanese market left and what they do have is hard to find.

The big names in the West German capital goods industry often have a range of licence-holders in the country with whom they work closely in order to maintain their former position in the Japanese market.

Many medium-sized West German engineering companies do not even have such a foothold in Japan. In order to help them the West German engineering and plant construction association opened a promotion office in Tokyo on 1 May so as to give Japanese firms better access to medium-size companies.

Generally speaking it is rather astonishing how little direct official contact there is between West Germany and Japan.

According to West German trade experts in Tokyo there is, for example, little contact in banking. West German banks operate in the country quite independently.

The Central Bank and the Finance Ministry mainly depend on second-hand information and are therefore not fully equipped to safeguard West German banking interests.

There is complaint that bankers who have tried to find a niche for themselves in Tokyo have not had enough support from West Germany.

As a result of the industrial exhibition in Tokyo new links have been forged between Japan and West Germany, parti-

Continued on page 8

■ LITERATURE/PHILOSOPHY

The decline of the book: in search of a far corner of the mind

Perhaps we lived no day of our childhood so fully as the time when time slipped by unnoticed, spent with a favourite book," wrote Marcel Proust.

Is reading out of fashion? Does a small child no longer begin by looking at a picture book but as soon as he or she is out of the playpen the television dominates?

Do 14-year-olds crouch before their computers giving it all their attention instead of reading of adventures in Karl May or Joseph Conrad?

Is the book passé? Is the reader a dying species? Must something be done to save him, or is that no quite the way things are?

The reader was singled out for attention at this year's Literary Discussion in Constance. It is held every year by the West German Booksellers Association, the central organisation of Austrian booksellers and the Swiss booksellers and publishers association.

Basically this discussion is always about the reader for the participants are publishers, booksellers, librarians, critics and authors.

The reader does not have much chance to voice views and this was the case at Constance in the main. True there were some readers of a particular category present to give the reader's case, but the general reader was absent.

Readers are a closed society and their reading habits differ considerably. The democratisation of our society that has brought with it many benefits and privileges including greater mobility and increased media information fails to allow us time to think and let our imaginings have their way.

The book is only one of these privileges. We must ask ourselves if the book is an important part of our culture. What importance can the book have in a multi-media society? What separates a reader from others involved in other media? How can reading be extended or even replaced by them?

And what is there about reading that is creative, recreational and allows the reader to discover another world all his own?

It was hoped that there would be some precise comments on there matters, but they did not come up for discussion.

Nothing was heard, for instance, of the influence of the radio, with its literary programmes, on listeners or what influence it could have.

After a report about a French radio programme in which authors discussed their work and spoke about themselves, the question sprang to mind that perhaps new readers could be won over via this ever-present medium of communication.

Perhaps the problem lay in the vaguely formulated theme for discussion — books need readers. This is a wide field.

Perhaps it was that most speakers and those in the audience were mainly middle aged and above and so already had plenty of experience in reading, and were not particularly interested in replacements for reading.

The podium was dominated by those who have much to do with the book per se. Critics, the middlemen between the book and the reader, were represented by the Viennese music and litarary critic Otto F. Beer.

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Authors were represented by Ingeborg Drewitz, for many years a member of PEN, the authors association, and herself an authoress.

There were any number of optimistic views expressed on complaints that readers were getting fewer and fewer all the time and that reading would soon be a thing of the past, such as: The book would remain and something could be derived from it. And it was an educational councillor at the Interior Ministry, a friend of culture, who said this.

In a cultured society it is not enough to pass legislation that promotes culture but to offer for the promotion of culture, particularly so in a federal state with considerable cultural differences, so as to provide a suitable ground for the development of art and literature.

Political infuence should be brought to bear to improve the cultural atmosphere. There was some astonishment expressed at the idea of getting mixed up with the state and some scepticism was evident.

Rainer Diederichs of the Zürich central library mentioned some practical matters that gave ground for hopes. There has been a cautious increase in the number of readers in Zürich since the previous year (although no mention was made of what was read). Diederichs said that the library was a centre of with many functions and had filled a gap.

Egon Wilhelm, chairman of the discussions, teacher, university lecturer, book-lover and as well president of the literary commission of Zürich, reported that in his canton there had been an increase of school libraries to 670 (as opposed to 200 local public libraries) places that could well do with getting used to the value of a book.

Hermann Lein, among other things president of the International Institute for Literature for Youth and Reading Research, reported on various and persistent efforts to introduce the book to young people. It was agreed on all sides that only a reader who picks up the habit young would be a good reader.

In comparison with others the picture in the Federal Republic looks rather gloomy. Economising hit first and foremost culture, so it was said complainingly.

In the country's largest state, North Rhine-Westphalia, 44 public libraries have been closed.

And even in Baden-Württemberg, usually a favoured state, the reduction in the budget for libraries has had a dismal effect, according to educationalists and those involved in culture in the state. Cultural affairs have to compete ever more sharply with social affairs at the local community level.

Is it likely that West Germany, the country of poets and thinkers, will develop into a country where books are no longer read?

Regular, comprehensive literature supplements, such as the Times Literary Supplement (London) or weekly magazines devoted to culture as a newspaper pullout, as in Britain and America, have for a long time not appeared in this country. Prestigious literary magazines, usual in France, h[ave] difficulty surviving here. Literary e[di]tors have to fight with the advert[ising] department for every inch of space.

The Constance meeting confir[med] that among the Europeans many e[nvi]ous glances are cast about, one [to] the other, noting who has the cult[ural] edge. But this should not obscure [the] fact that there are inadequacies [and] that much can be gained from an [ex]change of ideas and keeping in touch.

Everyone concerned with the b[asic] question what can readers in the fu[ture] expect from a book and what can t[he] book do for readers have to take i[nto] consideration the competition from [the] media and the increase in leisure tim[e].

The words "good for reading a[nd] readers" mean nothing unless they [are] defined more precisely. For many [it] is associated with a chore. For others [it] is vulgarised obligingness and polish.

That is surely not what is intend[ed]. Again and again there was talk [of] "reading promotion". Libraries, cul[tu]ral centres, bookshops, publishers [and] critics promote reading with greater [or] lesser adroitness. Authors as well.

This is not only so for the last b[e]cause they deliver a manuscript to [a] publisher, but give readings of th[eir] works before an ever-changing publ[ic], go into questions of interest, ans[wer] letters.

Ingeborg Drewitz said that the b[ook] "as an aid to living" makes consid[er]able demands on an author, it o[ften] overtaxes him.

In order to promote reading it is [es]sential to come to terms with hidd[en], perhaps dammed up, needs and wis[hes] that can only be fulfilled through th[is] curious process.

To gain access to the limitless r[e]gions of the imagination there must [be] a readiness to escape from the realit[ies] of life. That is what Proust was gett[ing] at.

Kyra Stromberg

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 17 April 1984)

Probing Hegel and 'pain of alienation'

How can man's animal nature be tamed without turning us into enemies of nature? More than a hundred Hegel experts from 21 countries gathered in Rotterdam for the International Hegel Congress to air their views on contemporary problems.

The idea was to examine "Human incapacities" (Arnold Gehlen) under the title used by Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831), System of Needs.

Hegel diagnosed with great clarity the dangerous relationship between economic egoism and ecological wisdom, but it has not resulted in a theoretical concept.

Heinz Kimmerle, professor of philosophy in Rotterdam and chairman of the International Hegel Society, called for a discussion of Hegel, not the school of philosophy.

Hegel recognised that needs were the motive force of a "bourgeois society" and that the reverse side of the progress coin was plenty and need at the same time.

Rudolf Meyer from Zürich gave a survey at the beginning of the congress on Hegel's views, expressed in *The Philosophy of Right*, on the transition from a bourgeois society to the state.

In opposition to a long tradition of philosophical thinking Hegel drew a line between society and state and the difference between a private person, who wants to satisfy his egotistical needs, and the citizen.

"Bourgeois society" is the naked battle ground for private interests. Only through labour and education can the citizen develop into a "citoyen".

Henning Ottmann of Munich added that the state guaranteed freedom. Hegel's state would not be the authoritative state in which the spheres of interest of the bourgeois would be totally destroyed.

Hegel aimed at "mediation" between the citizen and the private individual. There was no way back to the warmth of family life for the "cold death" of feeling was unavoidably bound up with the emancipation of the bourgeoisie. But the "pain of alienation" has to be endured.

The dynamic of a bourgeois society is that everyone makes of himself what he will. Needs squeeze out imperfections that have to be compensated for.

In the state, however, everyone remains what he or she is.

Eberhard Rüddenklau from Kassel elaborated the theme that for Hegel the state was the "new crystalisation" of the ancient idea of "the good life".

Hegel foresaw the technical and economic independence of the System of Needs, but it could not intellectu[ally] be brought under control.

States today are deprived of po[wer], Kurt Weisshaupt (Zürich) explai[ned], and resembled the "needing and d[e]pendent states" that Hegel did not thi[nk] much of.

Rüddenklau maintained that st[ates] were "powerless agents of the System [of] Needs, not agents of freedom". Fr[om] Hegel's statements on an "ecolog[y of] Ideas" Weisshaupt said that he found [a] counterweight to the intellect, th[at] obeyed needs without resistence.

Needs have to be "oriented" and c[an] remain hopelessly abstract.

The German Adorno expert teachi[ng] in Black Africa, Friedemann Gre[...] spoke on the much-discussed to[pic] "False Needs" which all too often w[ere] looked at from a European point [of] view.

He asked heretically what happe[ns] when disputed needs, such as hum[an] rights are, as in Africa, doubly ana[ch]ronistic — nationally too early, inter[na]tionally too late? The professor fr[om] the Transkei asked what value there w[as] in recognising basic needs in a wo[rld] "governed by narrow-mindedness"? I[n] West Germany, he said, a the mome[nt] there is talk of a shorter working we[ek] whilst children in Africa constantly [go] hungry.

He pointed out that in Africa much [is] said of universal franchise, a reg[...]

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■ THE ARTS

Illustrating the nuts and bolts of Dadaism

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Take Dada Seriously is the title of an exhibition at the Kunstverein in Bonn that deserves to be regarded as an exciting new departure.

What makes it new is that it is the first time a public art gallery has run the risk of staging an exhibition on a historic topic and its possible ongoing effect on contemporary art.

More particularly, it is the first time a public art gallery has allowed a group of art students, Bonn University art students, to organise the exhibition.

Visitors to Bonn bombarded by posters on walls and hoardings exhorting them to "Take Dada Seriously! It's Worth While."

It is certainly worth while paying the exhibition a visit at the Kunstverein in Adenauerallee, where Dada is shown to have been an outlook on life for the past 70 years.

What is Dada? An art form? A philosophy? A political outlook? A fire insurance company? A state religion? Is Dada really energy? Or is it nothing at all, in other words everything?

This announcement appeared in 1919 in the second issue of the Berlin magazine *Der Dada* as an advertisement for the new movement in art and poetry.

Dada was not intended as an art movement in the conventional sense of the term, one of its practitioners, painter and filmmaker Hans Richter, who died in 1976, later recalled.

It was "a thunderstorm that descended on art of the day like war on mankind. It was a cloudburst that broke without forewarning in a sultry atmosphere of satiation . . .

"It left behind a new day in which the energy pent up and released by Dada were documented in new forms, new materials, new ideas, new directions and new people and were aimed at new people."

The Dada movement had no uniform formal characteristics. It was full of contradictions that remain unsolved to this day. Why bother?

It began with the Cabaret Voltaire in Zurich, where the movement was born, and Dadaists such as Hugo Ball, Emmy Hennings and Tristan Tzara.

Then came Berlin and Richard Huelsenbeck, George Grosz, Raoul Hausmann, Johannes Baader, Walter Mehring, Wieland Herzfelde and Hannah Höch.

It was joined by Kurt Schwitters and his Merz Dada in Hanover, by Hans Arp, Max Ernst and Johannes Theodor Beargeld in Cologne, by Geneva, Paris and New York and artists such as Walter Serner, Francis Picabia, Philippe Soupault, Marcel Duchamp, Man Ray and others.

The confusion to which Dada gave rise (it was virtually asking for it) was the result of principle, spleen and fundamental opposition.

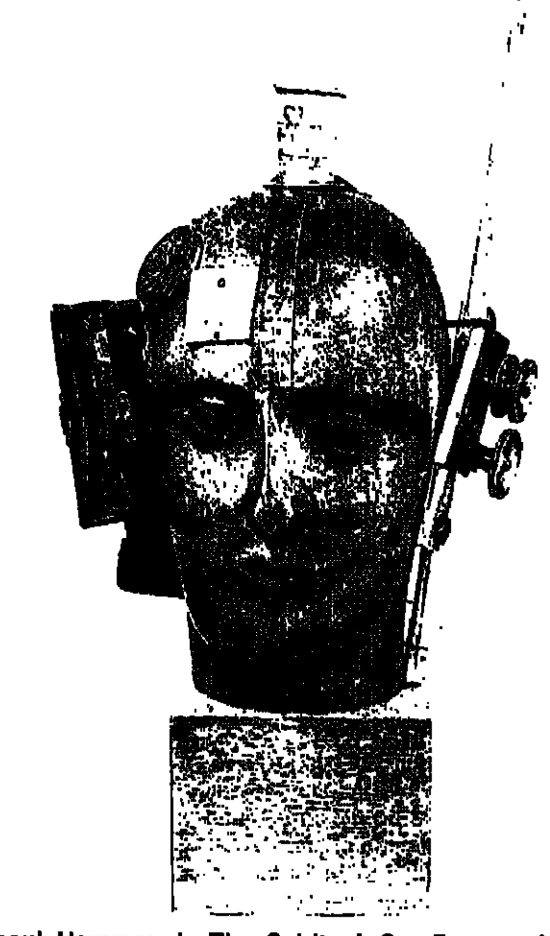
"But what really motivated us," Richter recalled, "was less the noise and contradiction but the fundamental issue of the day, the question: 'Where do we go from here?'"

Small wonder that young people today are again turning to the Dada movement, considering a new way of life, coming to realise that Dada is one, and trying to document the fact in an exhibition.

About two dozen students at Bonn University's art history department spent two semesters organising the exhibition supervised by lecturer Stefanie Poley.

It is amazing what the student group has assembled in exhibits as part of its self-appointed project.

It is no less amazing how it has arranged them and the room-by-room settings, remaining true to the target of illustrating the Dada way of life then and now. It wasn't tempted to get together as many exhibits from the early history of the movement as possible, and as a result it didn't panic as it sought to do so. To cite but one example, Raoul Hausmann's famous human head bristling with numerals, nuts and bolts and provocatively entitled The Spirit of Our Era was on show solely in the form of a photo. In the context of the exhibition that was ample, the aim being to illustrate the spirit of Dadaism from its beginnings to about 1923 and from the 1960s neo-Dadaism to the present, 1984 with its many connotations. There can be no doubt that the exhibition at times reaches its limits in trying to outline the risks currently faced by the free and unhindered birth pangs of Dada and the emergence of a Dada way of life.



Raoul Hausmann's The Spirit of Our Era . . . bristling truth.

(Photo: Kunstverein Bonn)

The work of a young contemporary artist, Georg Herold, shows that Dada is by no means just a plaything. As noted in the title of the exhibition it aims, and deserves, to be taken seriously.

Herold has transformed the entrance of the fairly small building the Kunstverein shares with other institutions into a lobby full of shocks.

There is washing on a line to suggest, at first glace, petty bougeois *Gemütlichkeit*, but in contrast there are large-scale photographs of people hanged in the background.

That too is Dada. Dadaists have always attacked and poured vitriolic humour on both society and art itself. It is an aspect of the movement shared by contemporary artists such as Tinguely, Spoerri, Arman, Roth and others.

In keeping with Dada principles, there is not an expensive but lavishly illustrated catalogue to the exhibition; merely an informative and readable newspaper costing DM5.

It contains a wide range of texts by Dada writers and an outline by the students who organised the exhibition of how they went about it.

Alfred Paffenholz

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 27 April 1984)

Continued from page 10

where the discovery of the wheel was the latest economic development.

At an "Erasmus evening" at the end of the conference the honorary president of the International Hegel Society Wilhelm Raimund Beyer honoured the great humanist in his native city that he treated so badly.

In Hegel's view Erasmus was a "martyr for philosophy" as are all philosophers of importance who live contrary to their own needs and the needs of the times. From life we learn something more than that living, as economy would have us believe, is a condition of not having.

The hundred-year conflict between economy and ecology was opened with some splendour under the shadow of Hegel at Rotterdam.

The next International Hegel Congress is sheduled to take place in 1986 in Zürich.

Wolfgang Schirmacher

(Bremer Nachrichten, 27 April 1984)

Boldness of a commercial artist

Commercial artist Gert Grimm's perfect mixture of elegance, seduction and a certain something is unmistakable in the poster for the exhibition of his work on show at a Munich gallery.

It depicts the face of a beautiful woman of the world in semi-profile wearing a red sweater with a high polo neck — a 1946 fashion illustration.

Gert Grimm, 72, has been rediscovered as part of the general rediscovery of the 1950s in architecture, design, fashion and the cinema.

A comprehensive exhibition of art work of his spanning five decades is on show at Bartsch & Chariau, the Munich art gallery.

Whether they may realise it or not, virtually everyone in Germany knows Grimm's commercial art for advertising and billboards.

To take but one example, for roughly 25 years advertisements for Reval cigarettes have borne his unmistakable hallmark.

Yellow and blue are sparingly used in combination with simple lines to signalise the product. There is not a structure too few and not a line too many.

The distinctive features of advertisements for this brand of cigarettes are subtly reduced to a bare minimum, but an unmistakable one.

Gert Grimm stands for quality as a fashion illustrator too. Like a seismograph he sensed the latest fashions throughout the decades and skilfully depicted them with a few strokes of his pen.

His model is always the lady, sporting, elegant, commanding attention and cared for and coddled by Grimm throughout the years regardless whether she goes in for the New Look or for the ballerina look.

His women are dream women, the acme of high-class femininity, and they reign supreme in Gert Grimm's fashion world.

The Munich exhibition gives a clear idea how fashions have changed over the years. Gone are the days of Fath, Balmain, Givenchy and Dior.

Gone are the days of models with extremely narrow waistlines and wide skirts, with drapes that ran up their backs.

Gone too are the days of long-legged mannequins with slanting eyes, pouting lips and hair combed straight back. Grimm portrayed them with striking accuracy in a few firm strokes.

He studied art Karlsruhe and Berlin art colleges, then worked for *Silberspiegel* and *Die Dame* — a lucky break that took him straight into the world of magazine fashion as a commercial artist.

A wide range of covers he drew are on show to bear witness to this period, which was brought to a halt for 10 years when he was banned from practising his career by the Nazis.

Ullstein and Scherl Verlag editors helped him to make ends meet in what were hard times. In 1950 he went to New York, where he notched up one success after another.

But he felt the call of his native Baden and returned, to Freiburg, where in recent years he has almost parted company with the world of fashion.

Fascinated by the atmosphere of the city, he has concentrated on city-dwellers: people in cafés, in the hustle and bustle, at railway stations, at newspaper kiosks.

Regardless whether he was in Hong Kong or New York, Grimm succeeded with a few strokes of the pen in portraying something typical of the era.

He has no compunction in contrasting bold colours and colour combinations. That too gives his work an inimitable style of its own.

Rose-Marie Borngässer

(Die Welt, 18 April 1984)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Disaster-relief agencies at the ready as the bark beetle limbers up

The bark beetle is back. So much German timber has been laid low by acid rain that a bumper season for the insect pest is predicted.

Bark beetles start to swarm in April and May as soon as temperatures reach 20° C. Their aim is to find somewhere suitable to breed.

If spring and summer stay dry and warm this year, experts predict the biggest bark beetle plague since 1947.

Over the past two summers, especially 1983, which was extremely dry, the beetle has made enormous headway among trees weakened by drought and atmospheric pollution.

"Since spring 1982, when population density was fairly normal," says Jürgen Oppermann, a Rhineland forestry official, "the bark beetle population has grown by leaps and bounds in keeping with the increase in timber damage."

Spruce and fir trees, the most important varieties of commercial timber, have been particularly hard hit and are in serious danger.

Most bark beetles are secondary pests, thriving mainly on trees that are sick or dying, but they also have a liking for felled lumber that is still juicy and has yet to be stripped of its bark.

Storm and snow damage are also ideal providers of windfall wood on which bark beetles can flourish and multiply. But there are three factors they need before they can really proliferate.

They need dry, warm weather, enough timber in which to breed and a sufficiently large beetle population to start with.

If breeding conditions are particularly favourable there is even a risk of the beetles attacking trees with a clean bill of health and condemning them to eventual death.

One of the most dangerous and widespread bark beetles is the eight-dentated variety known as the typographical bark beetle. It is particularly fond of the sturdy trunks of fir trees.

The typographical beetle is five to six millimetres long and tunnels beneath the bark, eating corridors in which to lay eggs.

They turn first into larvae, then into chrysalises, until eventually the full-grown beetle emerges from the coccoon.

The larvae suck the tree dry of juice, destroying its nutrient and water system. The bark falls off, the tree runs dry.

The smaller (2mm) six-dentated bark beetle, known in German as the engraver beetle, prefers thinner bark, so it makes a beeline for the tops of old trees, pole wood and thickets.

Other varieties of bark beetle prefer the trunk to the bark. They ruin tree trunks by riddling them with holes. One variety is particularly fond of freshly felled tree trunks that have already been stripped of their bark.

Forestry officials have devised various techniques of dealing with the voracious beetles. Keeping the woods clean is a major precaution.

Timber the beetles could feed or have fed on needs clearing promptly and regularly, which is why forestry officials keep a constant check all winter on conifers to see if they are in any way affected.

Trees in which they might breed and trunks that are broken or diseased have

Christ und Welt
Rheinischer Merkur

to be felled and stripped of bark by the time the beetles swarm at the latest.

From March until autumn a round-the-clock vigil is maintained. Once the bark beetles have started swarming, forestry officials check each stand of timber once a fortnight.

Trees affected are felled as soon as possible. A number of trees are specially prepared as bait to enable a check to be kept on breeding.

These trees are felled and placed at the ready a month or two before the beetles swarm. Piles of brushwood are laid out as bait for the six-dentated bark beetle and other smaller varieties.

Another method of catching and keeping check on the bark beetle relies on a pheromone, or chemical substance secreted by other beetles that influences the behaviour of others of the species.

In this case the substance signalises good breeding conditions. As soon as the tree is fully populated the beetles secrete an anti-pheromone as a deterrent to prevent overcrowding.

Both substances have been analysed and can be artificially manufactured on an industrial basis for several varieties of bark beetle.

Decoys are used to trap them in flight and on landing. The landing trap resembles a tree trunk. It is a plastic pipe length dark in colour with a rough exterior and a smooth inside surface.

There is a sachet of scent inside that attracts the beetles. They land and crawl through specially drilled holes, only to slither down the smooth inside surface into a container.

The trap set to catch beetles in flight resembles a letter box. It consists of an oblong plastic container suspended from a wooden framework. The container has horizontal slits in it.

It is light in colour and the beetles as they swarm on the lookout for the telltale scent can't see it because they can only make out dark-coloured outlines.

They collide with the container, slip through the slits and into an interior from which there is no escape. These flight traps are simple and effective.

"Pheromone traps alone," Herr Oppermann says, "aren't enough to eliminate the bark beetle. We can do no more than put it in its place."

Yet North Rhine-Westphalia has bought 36,000 pheromone traps this year and is supplying them to forestry departments, private woodland-owners and local authorities free of charge.

Forestry officials are under orders to inspect them regularly, emptying them once a week during the beetles' swarming period.

As a rule the edges of woods and forests are the most vulnerable to attack, being more strongly exposed to sunlight, to which the bark beetle is partial.

Traps there have to be laid between 10 and 20 metres from the trees and at intervals of 100 metres. They can often be seen at the edge of forest footpaths.

Forestry officials have appealed to the public to leave in position even though they may be an eyesore.

Even these bioengineering techniques of waging war on wood parasites are not going to make it possible to dispense entirely with chemical techniques.

"If we were to rule out pesticides," says Herr Oppermann," the bark beetle could multiply and cause us very serious trouble in years to come."

Hans-Heinrich Vangerow of Regensburg forestry department sees spraying as a "last means of dealing with the beetle plague."

"Before we let the bark beetle chew its way through 1,000 hectares of timber," he says, "we are going to decide in favour of using a chemical agent approved by the Federal Agriculture and Forestry Research Establishment."

Lower Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate, his area, are like the Rhineland armed to face the challenge of the bark beetle.

Precautions have been taken. Private forest-owners have been trained. Traps have been laid. The Bundeswehr and disaster relief agencies are at the ready to clear the woods of beetle-blighted trees if need be.

Barbara Dreifen

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 27 April 1984)

Damage to forests begins to take its economic toll

German forests are dying much faster than was assumed not long ago, and entire industries and parts of the country face dramatic changes.

Four out of five fir trees, which are particularly sensitive to pollution, are reportedly slightly to seriously hit by what looks like proving an environmental catastrophe.

Experts have been surprised to learn that other conifers, and even deciduous trees, are increasingly affected. Beech trees, for instance, are reportedly in poor shape.

Acid rain seems directly or indirectly to be hitting entire industries and regions. The ecological catastrophe has taken on an economic dimension.

By last year an estimated 2.5m hectares or more of a total 7.5m hectares of German woodland had been hit either by the ravages of acid rain or the depredations of the bark beetle and other pests.

German forests are an asset worth between DM150bn and DM200bn, and the damage to the economy has already exceeded DM20bn.

Forestry and allied trades are a major employer. Forestry provides 100,000 full-time and 700,000 part-time jobs. The wood and timber industry employs a further 700,000.

The Association of German Forest-Owners estimates annual losses to be running at between DM650m and DM700m, and forest-owners are hopping mad.

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

Federal and state goverments and local authorities are doing nothing, they complain. Neither is industry, especially the utilities.

For forest-owners the fight is increasingly a life-death struggle, with heavier felling and poorer quality timber hitting prices and profits.

The trunks of diseased trees can still be used. Quality doesn't decline until a very late stage, but the timber industry is increasingly reluctant to buy wood that is even slightly affected.

Owners are increasingly felling diseased timber earlier, leading to a surplus of supply over demand. A glut may not be expected, but prices have already plummeted to below break-even point for many forest-owners.

What can't be sold is simply left felled, with the result that lumber goes to waste in the woods.

Odd though it may seem, this surplus can lead to shortages. The chipboard and cellulose industry relies on thin trunks that are felled as woodland is thinned out.

A number of *Länder* have cut down on thinning-out to enable diseased trees to be felled first. The aim is to prevent the losses from reaching epidemic proportions.

Forest-owners and forestry officials are agreed that supply is sure to exceed demand in the timber market, especially as the construction industry is hard hit and demand is not booming.

According to latest estimates German lumber output last year totalled 25.5m cubic metres, as against an average 28m cubic metres in recent years.

The industry complains of cut-price timber imports from the East Bloc countries in particular.

Forest damage being international, the EEC Commission in Brussels has paid attention to the problem, advising the Council of Ministers that a European solution is needed for an industry with a combined EEC turnover of DM123bn.

The tourist trade is at stake too in many areas where it is a mainstay of the economy. There may have been no decline yet in the number of visitors but there are growing fears that the days of idyllic woodland may be numbered.

In many areas nature has been devastated for commercial reasons. Clearings have cut wide swathes through forests to make skiing tracks, which is fine in winter but ruins the landscape in summer.

In summer not even grass grows, and only a handful of communities earn good money as winter sports resorts. Smaller, peripheral towns and villages stand to be the long-term losers.

So the lumber and furniture industries are not the only losers. So is the tourist trade, while manufacturers of chipboard and composition board can no longer buy the class of timber they need as a raw material.

The overall economic damage in its full ramifications seems sure to be immense.

dpa/VWD

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 26 April 1984)

■ EDUCATION

The real issues and problems that lie behind school reform ideas

The Social Democrats and the Greens have agreed on an education policy programme. At a meeting in Wiesbaden they hammered out a series of basic points, but the most important was the establishment of "free" schools.

These schools, following the principle of "self-determination in teaching" would be supervised and financed by the state.

Pupils between the ages of six and 12 would study what they wanted to when they wanted to — or not study as the case may be, which the agreement forgets to mention.

The example taken is the Free School in Frankfurt, set up ten years ago. Pupils at the school do not have study timetables or subjects for study, no school reports or classes that separate one year from another. The school does get good results, however, as the experts have been quick to notice.

The school, that has 30 pupils and a teaching staff of four, is to be imitated in Hesse? What is the significance of this?

In the first place it means a break with what has been for years regarded as the basis of education — teaching programmes, fixed subjects for study, objective assessments of capabilities and the division of the students into class years without exceptions.

This is how things were, but that is not to be so any longer. Reform, for years a theme that has infused the teaching profession with enthusiasm, is to be introduced.

Frankfurter Allgemeine

This reform is to carry many things before it. The idea behind these plans for reform is to replace social standing and all that means for choice of profession and quality of life by proven capabilities.

The school, not the family, that has been denounced often enough for its failings, is to have control over decisions. As Willy Brandt promised so often the school of the nation is to be school.

As a consequence their chances in life are to be directed by the bureaucrats, described and defined by Helmut Schelsky.

There was a quick reaction to this policy that has its origins in the Dortmund-based University Place Allocation Centre.

Ivan Illich has called for a re-training of society as a whole and has called it anti-teaching. The agreement between the Social Democrats and the Greens prepares them both to influence the educational policy of a whole nation.

If, as is expected, these parties hold to this dogma, if they make school a kindergarten and turn against study performance, then they cancel the promise in life that could be achieved thanks to education.

The schools will be the losers and origin will be the winner. Despite efforts to safeguard against this, students who come from an involved and caring home will be at a disadvantage. They would be able to handle a regulated study course. Their chances at school will suffer.

Hesse schools will go the same way as American education. Costly investigations have revealed that the results of a school in the main "depend on the raw material, the quality of the students themselves". Everything else, cash, guidelines and teacher training counted for little. In short the school has little effect.

Two conclusions can be drawn from this. The one is the determination to encourage children according to their abilities, which is and always was a teaching aim.

The anti-teaching brigade comes to the opposite conclusion. Illich maintains that schools do not help. They ought not to help increase the standing of successful radicals. Their aim is to spread if not no education, non-education, throughout the population.

Heinz-Joachim Heydorn of Frankfurt has called this educational defeatism "The right to object to education".

Two ideas of equality compete with one another here. Nietzsche has appropriately described them. One hundred years ago he said: "The search for equality can mean that either you bring everyone down to your level or you raise yourself to the level of others."

Early socialists, who were all for choice and high performance and who sent their children to grammar schools for a classical, stood up for a principle.

The others are trod under foot by each and every pedagogic who stands for more equality of opportunity by the distribution of negative values.

At least these ideas have found an audience in Hesse, so it seems.

Konrad Adam

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 19 April 1984)

Change to buyers' market gives parents the advantage

It is astonishing how quickly things improve as soon as a little competition appears. Unimagined creativity is to be founded in the most unexpected places and energies are found where it was never suspected.

It is possible to observe this in many schools.

When there was a flood of school children clamouring to get into schools the school was a typical "sellers' market". The teacher had plenty of pull. Parents had to be thankful when their offspring were admitted and were given regular instruction.

Who dared ask if the teacher was qualified to teach the subject and if the teaching was done with verve?

The position has now changed. Kindergartens, grammar schools and comprehensives are afraid that not enough pupils apply for admission. There is a threat that at sometime the school might be closed.

Many schools have discovered that they are not just factories for learning. Additional courses in the afternoon are now available and there are night schools. Pupils can according to their inclination, take up sport, programme computers or build a complicated model railway.

Pupils, parents and teachers form choirs and orchestras together. Many schools put on theatrical and musical productions that few provincial theatres could compete with.

Parents, whose rights previously were only on paper, are now suddenly listened to when they complain or make suggestions.

In fact they are now dealt with for what they actually are — customers and those who keep the school in work.

In order to improve their services even further some schools have provided a canteen, similar to those at a theatre or a circus, where pupils can take refreshments during the school break.

Other services include, for example, a school festival or the organisation of a discussion on such matters of the moment as the 35-hour working week or disarmament.

And the reward for all these efforts? Certainly many of these activities produce cash for the school fund — money tha can be used to finance a school outing, the purchase of musical instruments or a school computer, all items that cannot be provided by the state because of a shortage of money or can only be provided officially after a great deal of red-tape that is very time consuming.

These additional activities give the school a certain amount of "financial sovereignty" as a result of initiatives to increase the facilities available from the school.

But more important than the small profits made from these activities is whether the school can maintain its position in the community. Just how successful these activities are can be judged from the number of pupils who register for the school at the beginning of the school year.

Then it can be seen if the school has a good image in the community and is able to compete with other schools in the neighbourhood.

Or has the unhappy atmosphere in the school, talentless and negligent teachers so ruined the school's reputation that not enough pupils register at the school so that it can continue in existence.

But not all schools are subject to the spurs of competition. When there is only one school in a district it can do what it will with its monopoly position.

And not all heads of schools have understood the new situation or they do not have enough energy or flair to adjust to it.

Many parents and pupils have gained from the change to a "buyers' market", so that now the customers have all the pull.

Something should be done so that this situation continues.

Michael Jungblut

(Die Zeit, 20 April 1984)

■ SOCIETY

Persistent low birth rate is causing concern

The writer, Christa Meves, practises as a psychotherapist in Uelzen. She specialises in children and adolescents.

Politicians have finally realised that the reluctance of Germans to have children is both a disturbing phenomenon and a fact of political relevance.

Action needs to be taken based on expert advice about cause, otherwise remedies such as higher family allowances will amount to no more than trying to cure the symptoms.

But, despite the fact that low birth rates are persisting, sound advice on why is scarce.

The layman's answer to problems of this kind is that behaviour is learnt from others, in this case from our parents. It is an argument advanced in respect of habits ranging from smoking to alcoholism.

But it clearly cannot be said to apply in this case. In the most appalling conditions imaginable, in the immediate post-war years, many young adults lived in conditions of extreme poverty and uncertainty about the future.

Yet parents in those days had children, and children in large numbers.

That would lead one to assume that willingness to have children is governed less by external circumstances than by the vitality (or lack of it) of young people.

A dramatic case in Hamburg has just reaffirmed the point. A 19-year-old girl gave birth to her child in broad daylight in the bushes of a snow-clad park, put a stone in the baby's mouth and abandoned it.

She was found to have been brought up by a divorced mother who had gone out to work full-time throughout her daughter's life.

Until puberty, until she left school even, it seemed to work. The girl then ran into trouble of various kinds.

She abandoned a training course as a nurse in an old people's home, gave up several other jobs and was convicted of larceny offences.

She fell out with her mother and left home, living with several young men. She became pregnant and increasingly let matters take their course.

Inability to cope with a situation and an apathetic inclination to let matters take their course are typical signs of mental weakness.

Willingness to have children and start a family presupposes strength and the ability to be altruistic and ready to make sacrifices.

This outlook on life does not arise out of thin air. It presupposes a fair share of physical and mental health.

Psychopathology agrees with ethology in observing in man and higher mammals that readiness and ability to look after the young largely depend on the course of adults' childhoods.

In cases where there is no mother-child relationship, or only an inadequate substitute, a deprivation syndrome has been found to occur.

Harlow, the American behavioural scientist, made this observation in experiments with caged rhesus monkeys in which the young were fed not by their mother but by fur-clad imitation apes that gave milk.

One of the repercussions of the deprivation syndrome when the young

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rhesus monkeys grew up was that most of them were unable to mate.

Many deprived females were never pregnant and those that did give birth turned out to be poor, unfeeling mothers who tended to neglect their young.

Typical deprivation symptoms are found in humans when patients are asked to relate the early stages of their illness. They are almost always people who have lacked human warmth in childhood.

Biologist Professor K. Markl defines this state of affairs as follows:

"In the entire animal kingdom higher social life can be shown always to have evolved from relations in connection with looking after the young.

"Not for nothing do mammals, of whom brood care is so typical, show such a distinct inclination to evolve highly advanced social behaviour.

"In such a highly developed social community man and the origins of human society took shape.

"Scientists are convinced that it was only due to life in such communities that qualities were able to emerge that we now regard as the essentials of human behaviour."

These facts may be borne in mind when taking a closer look at the reluctance to marry and have children of today's 20- to 30-years-olds.

It will be clear that this reluctance was bound to increase to the extent that young mothers increasingly went out to work as well as running a home and looking after the family in the 1950s and 1960s.

It was bound to increase in keeping with greater flexibility and mobility, with general emancipation and with the growing readiness to consider divorce in the affluent industrialised countries.

The Frankfurt psychoanalyst Alexander Mitscherlich coined the term "orphans with parents" to describe the deprived children of that era.

Aggression and unruliness were typical symptoms. So were apathy and many obsessive habits observed by psychoanalysts in the 1930s, particularly among orphans in children's homes.

A constant characteristic of this upset is an egotism and egocentric fixation that in adulthood must be regarded as signs of weakness and retarded development.

Cheerful optimism is much more frequently encountered among people who can look back on happy family lives in their childhood, according to an Allensbach opinion poll.

Readiness to bring up offspring, it may be concluded, is naturally widespread among people who are physically and mentally well.

It probably exists in both sexes, although it seems likely to be stronger among women.

The decline in readiness to care for children is in many cases due to a general inability to from ties and lack of vitality.

So *one* cause of the low birth rate that is typical only of industrialised nations is evidently a belated consequence of instability of the family and the nest warmth it provides.

It has a great deal to do with the opportunities young mothers have of escaping from the nest. It is thus a direct result of technology, emancipation and greater flexibility for women.

That is probably one of the reasons why in times of affluence more and more egoistic people are bred and why, in wartime and post-war periods, there is a boost in vitality and not a decline.

We may gain consolation from the fact that there are still many young couples in the Federal Republic of Germany who are ready to start a family and thereby show themselves to be in sound mental health even though conditions have rapidly deteriorated. They are our hope.

Christa Meves

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 20 April 1984)

Why there's a gleam in grandpa's eyes

Lübecker Nachrichten

Asked who had been most delighted by the award she had won, a teenage girl pop singer promptly said, much to everyone's surprise: "My granddad."

Good for him, and lucky the old man who has a granddaughter. They are a fresh lease of life, working wonders without ever knowing it.

They give him a constant encouragement to stay alive and enjoy life at a time that comes particularly hard to men, for whom old age comes virtually without warning.

From one day to the day they are old stock, remaindered, junked, of no use to anyone, and today's grandfathers have a harder time of it than many of their predecessors.

They belong to the generation that was responsible for post-war reconstruction. They often wasted 10 years of their lives in the armed forces and as prisoners-of-war.

At a time when their sons were already enjoying responsibility they had to start again from scratch, making good the many years they had lost.

They were so busy making good those years and making headway in life that they often forgot how to enjoy life.

When they retired at 65 it came as a shock to realise they had never really lived. The children had grown up without them really noticing it. Marriage was just a routine and they often had no personal friends.

They were in mental distress and would arguably have stayed that way or even deteriorated had they not had grandchildren. The grandchildren often taught them how to be people again.

"Old people develop the noblest and most tender feelings toward their grandchildren," says Simone de Beauvoir.

Granddaughters in particular soften the rough edges of old hearts and make them fertile ground in which tender feelings again flourish.

There is nothing more touching than when such a delightful little girl hugs her grandfather and says: "Granddad, I'm going to marry you."

The old man certainly feels moved and finds it hard not to betray the fact. He wasn't moved by such tender feelings

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■ MODERN LIVING

Laboratory tests on animals remain a prickly issue

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

The first German to be operated on with the help of a heart-lung machine was 24-year-old Johanna Killian. The operation was in February 1958.

As Frau Killian was taken through to the operating theatre at Marburg University Hospital, she knew that the day before, a dog had died on the operating table in a trial run.

But today, Frau Killian is still alive, thanks in part to the role played by the dog.

When animals today are sacrificed for the benefit of the human race, researchers scarcely dare mention it publicly. They are afraid of the ever-increasing number of opponents of animal experiments.

As the Bonn Cabinet was due to consider evidence about the form new animal protection legislation should take, protestors produced a petition with 17 million signatures.

This plus the findings of a survey have been enough to force the Cabinet to postponement its considerations.

Now the Bonn Agriculture Minister, Ignaz Kiechle, wants to go through the already much-examined material with the aim of drastically reducing the number of tests on animals.

In addition, the Social Democrat party, which was unable to come up with long-overdue modifications to the 1972 legislation, has now announced its own plans for change.

More than 75 years ago writer Karl Morgenstern wrote that it would take an eternity to repay animals for the service they had given man. He saw himself as a champion of the mistreated animal.

Defenders of experiments on animals are not quite the same today. The militants among them often are more likely to take action by, for example, setting laboratory animals free. But it is still an open question whether they want all experiments banned.

Swiss firms, which feel themselves hemmed in by legislation passed under pressure from the anti vivisection lobby, test their new products in Taiwan.

Too strict regulations in Germany would also drive experiments to foreign countries. And it is not realistic to think that animals would suffer less in foreign countries.

In the jumble of wild charges and half-hearted speeches in defence, the man on the street can hardly be expected to come to reasonable judgment on the value or lack of value of about seven million animal experiments a year.

Brochures for opponents portray laboratories as torture chambers. Brochures of the German drugs industry portray laboratory animal cages as the probably the most desirable place an animal can be in.

There are many indications that animal experiments are often carried out for their own sake. Philosoph Spaemann mentioned laboratories screened off from controls and disconnected from any verifiable function, a world in which researchers themselves are in control and lose sight of what they are doing.

This would explain experiments carried out in the armed forces laboratories: boxer dogs dying in hailstones, rabbits and rats poisoned by chemical weapons, pigs exposed to radioactive radiation.



Pulsating question: calf with artificial heart (Photo: Sven Simon)

The inadequate justification offered reveals how little the sense of such tests had been considered.

Many experiments are carried out to help industry to exploit new markets and to try and fulfil promises of a more comfortable life for the consumer.

The price is the suffering and the death of many animals. There are more than 140 laws and regulations covering testing new products on animals – hair sprays, furniture polish, painkiller tablets.

Most of the new products differ very little in substance, but manufacturers say their hands are forced by a constant, unthinking demand by consumers.

However, it is doubtful wheter this is correct. The boom in natural cosmetics, for example, which don't involve experiments on animals, would suggest that the opposite is true.

For many years, laws laid it down that tests involving poison should be used on animals by stepping up the dose until half the animals had died. This was the yardstick for establishing the safe dosage.

But it has since emerged that sort of procedure has a doubtful value.

Worse, however than the mistake of actually using such a cruel technique is the sin of not considering how many animals should be sacrificed for the benefit of humans.

Characteristically, the number of animal experiments began to decline when cheaper ways of testing were found such as with cell cultures and organ parts from dead people.

These methods cannot substitute for all animal experiments but there are enough reasonable suggestions to get the number down.

For example: recognition by all states of the safety procedures of other states; exchanging of test results; by avoiding duplication of tests; use of animal blood banks; and by showing students only films of animal experiments instead of the real thing.

Dr Julius Hackethal, orthopaedist and writer of several medical books, is a member of an organisation of German doctors opposed to animal experiments. He once did animal experiments himself.

Today he says: "There are some things that are not subject to any statute of limitation. I(carried out animal experiments because I) wanted unconditionally to become a professor."

Now he and his fellow society members recken that only 10 per cent of experiments today are justifiable.

They want ethics commission to put a halt to the surreptitious methods allowed by the animal protection laws as they stand and stronger steps taken to promote alternative research methods.

But they don't call for a total ban. Because without experiments there would be hardly a vaccination against tuberculosis and poliomyelitis, less would be known about cancer-causing substances in the environment and transplantations would today be merely a utopian idea.

Experiments are also unavoidable in the future if research is to be carried out into rheumatics, hearts, circulation and also dental illnesses.

But millions of sacrificed animals have neither delivered on the hoped-for medical findings nor prevented catastrophes involving the use of drugs.

Researchers in industry and at the medical colleges are readily labelled as scapegoats. Because of their silence, they have only themselves to blame.

But their silence was not difficult to maintain. The fact was that they were allowed to get away with it because we didn't want to know and didn't put them to the test.

Marianne Quoirin

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 14 April 1984)

Scientists hit out in defence

An urgent appeal has been made to government and Parliament over discussion for changes to animal protection laws.

The biological medicine section of the Max Planck Institute has warned that no "anti-scientific agitation" should be allowed to bend the discussion.

The Max Planck researchers especially condemn the "spreading of lies" about animal experiments in general and personal threats and also discrimination against scientists.

They say scientists take seriously arguments put forward by anti vivisectionists, but they expect their own moral decisions in favour of the need for animal experiments to be respected.

A statement put out by "a minority of doctors" against experiments on animals is regarded by this section of the Max Planck Institute as hypocrisy.

These doctors were denying the very basis of their profession.

Experiments on animals were necessary to obtain important result for practical medicine.

Death of a laboratory animal was in these cases just as justified as the death of farming animals "with the aim of keeping people fed and clothed."

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 21 April 1984)

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even by his own children. He didn't have the time. He wasn't mature enough. Children are often only done justice in old age, when old and young feel much closer.

They have much in common. It is like a ring. It is hard to tell where it starts and where it ends. Maybe it's the ring of life that comes full circle.

Friedel Gerken

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 22 April 1984)

The man who brings zoology live into the living room

Animal researcher and former director of the Frankfurt Zoo, Professor Bernhard Grzimek, has turned 75.

Professor Grzimek made his name both in Germany and overseas as an author of animal books, a compiler of full-length documentary films and an author of television programmes about animals.

He was born in Silesia and studied veterinary medicine at Leipzig. At 23 he became a doctor of veterinary medicine and went to Berlin to work as a vet. His scientific work involved animal psychology.

At the beginning of 1945, Grzimek took over as head of the totally destroyed zoo in Frankfurt am Main and built it up again.

He travelled regularly for research to African countries, Japan, Canada, America, Australia and South America.

Together with his son, Michael, he was responsible for the animal and jungle film *Kein Platz für wilde Tiere* (No Place for Wild Animals).

Michael Grzimek was killed in an air crash during the shooting of the film *Serengeti darf nicht sterben* (Serengeti must not die).

Professor Grzimek began a television series called *Ein Platz Für Tiere* (A Place for Animals) in 1956. It has brought in millions of marks for the cause of animal protection.

He also emerged as a stubborn campaigner against shortcomings in animal and nature protection. In 1969 he was appointed special representative by the Willy Brandt government for nature and conservation. He resigned in 1973 on the grounds that conservation was not being given high enough priority.

Grzimek lives in Frankfurt and holds among his many honorary positions that of editor in chief of *Das Tier* magazine.

But on his birthday, de didn't intend to be in Germany. He will be on the way on his research journey, this year to Africa and Israel.

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(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 21 April 1984)